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## **Speech Presented to the 2001 Strength through Cooperation Conference**

**By**

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[The following are excerpts of a speech given at the 2001 Defense Security Cooperation Agency Conference, September 26, 2001.]

It means a lot to me to be with my Defense colleagues, for obvious reasons. I consider it a high honor to appear before you, General Walters, and all the men and women of our armed services as well as civilian Department of Defense (DoD) professionals attending today. The events of September 11 will never be forgotten by anyone who calls the Pentagon home, and I salute your dedication and your service. The attacks at the Pentagon and World Trade Center also highlight the fact that there is no longer a front line as we used to conceive of it. Homeland security, the newest area of national security, recognizes that the world's problems have crossed the oceans and challenge us where we live. Clausewitz [*On War*] said that war is a continuation of politics by other means. With the lines of what constitutes war being redefined by the new war on terrorism, the need for close coordination between the Departments of State and the DoD has never been more important. In fact, many of my officers in the Political Military Bureau who should be here today are, like many DoD officers, on watch. I have officers serving in our own operations center, within the commander and chiefs, and military department senior staff. We are the ones who open the door to foreign governments that allow our forces to operate around the world. We are DoD's primary liaison and voice at State.

With that in mind, I have been invited to talk about the issues shaping the future of security assistance in the Bureau of Political Military Affairs. The timing of this discussion could not be better. In my first four months on the job, I have been spending a good deal of time contemplating Bureau of Political Military Affairs (PM) priorities, notably with regard to security assistance. Since I first applied for work at PM twenty years ago, without success I might add, it has been my view that the defining mission of PM is to help integrate military power and diplomacy in the service of U.S. foreign policy objectives. If there was any doubt what that meant two weeks ago, we are certainly living that vision now, every day.

Internationally, this means working to maintain the vitality and efficacy of our defense and security relations with allies and friendly countries. In troubled areas of the world, it means helping anticipate and plan for crises, and contributing to a coordinated response to crises.

At home, it means maintaining optimal coordination of policies and programs between the state department and the defense department in manners where both departments have a role. The military services and the Joint Staff, as well as the Office of the Secretary of Defense, must be assured that their concerns and issues will be understood, and appropriately addressed, within the Department of State (DoS), for the benefit of both Departments in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. Perhaps nowhere is this coordination function more essential and productive than in the area of security assistance and arms transfers. The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) and PM manage key elements of U.S. security engagement with friends and allies worldwide.

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Of course, this includes military assistance in the form of foreign military financing (FMF), international military education and training (IMET), and peacekeeping operations (PKO) funds, where we have a truly excellent working relationship with DSCA, at all levels. What may be less obvious is the rest of the PM function and how it works with the defense community and the international arena. As most of you know, in April of 1999, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was legislated out of existence and its operations folded into the State Department. As a result, the Bureau of Political Military Affairs, which until that time had stood as the only bureau responsible to the Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, gained three new siblings, the Arms Control Bureau, the Nonproliferation Bureau, and the Verification and Compliance Bureau.

While this process has strengthened the State Department in many ways by delineating these areas of expertise and authority, it clearly left much of the DoD world wondering which number to call in the State Department on many issues. As I made the rounds in DoD prior to starting this job, I was troubled to find that my defense colleagues no longer knew what the Bureau of Political Military Affairs does, or when they should call our bureau. That is perhaps the greatest challenge I inherited in leading the bureau, reestablishing an identity and a profile for the bureau. In this context, our interest in defense issues both at the Office of Secretary of Defense and uniformed services levels is reflected by the valuable presence of more than twenty military officers serving in the bureau. Their professionalism, and knowledge they bring to the job, is a key to PM's effectiveness. The Bureau of Political Military Affairs' most visible security assistance role is in overseeing the military assistance accounts, which provide funding to over 125 friends, allies, and regional and multinational organizations.

Military assistance accounts include IMET, FMF, and PKO. Our fiscal year 2002 funding request totals \$3.9 billion. These accounts enable us to promote U.S. national security, as well as global and regional stability, by strengthening democratically elected governments and containing international threats, hopefully reducing the likelihood of conflict.

Assistance programs help us to establish and maintain mutually beneficial military-to-military relations, to build coalitions when needed, to enhance interoperability between U.S. and friendly military forces, and to increase defense cooperation with other countries generally. These funds also help build the capability of many friendly military forces to participate in peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations, thus reducing the pressure to send in U.S. forces

There are plenty of recent examples of ways in which assistance funds support timely security requirements:

- Support for the Macedonia Framework in all aspects, including military and civilian assistance;
- Support for Ukraine's continuing participation in KFOR;
- Support for DoD's efforts in establishing a deployment in Southeastern Europe;
- Defense Multinational Peacekeeping Brigade (SEEBRIG);
- Continued support of Operation Focus Relief and UNAMSIL's peacekeeping operations in Sierra Leone; and

Obviously, the same approach will help us shape programs and develop new security relationships in the campaign against terrorism.

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Security assistance funding is not, however, PM's only contribution to the assistance field. Assistance comes in many forms, which are reflected in our bureau's wide-ranging portfolio. Let me elaborate a bit on other functions of the bureau and the impact they have. Through defense trade, PM promotes the security of U.S. allies and friends. We are responsible for controlling the export of all items on the U.S. munitions list, to include direct commercial sales of defense articles, services and technology. This amounts to 45,000 licenses per year, which in fiscal year 2000 was valued at \$25 billion of defense articles and \$30.3 billion in defense services.

Bureau of Political Military Affairs' job is to see that potentially dangerous items and know-how do not fall into irresponsible hands; and PM's regulatory oversight is a key factor in promoting the security of supply to U.S. allies and friends, disrupting the illegal arms acquisition networks of terrorist states, organizations and other unauthorized uses, and assisting U.S. law enforcement in the prosecution of those who conspire to violate U.S. laws and regulations in this area. The Bureau of Political Military Affairs can enhance allied defense modernization by improving our own procedures for licensing of legitimate sales, and for curtailing illegal activities in the U.S. and abroad that target U.S. arms and technology.

The Bureau of Political Military Affairs is responsible for the implementation of the Defense Trade Security Initiative (DTSI), launched in May 2000, which seeks to streamline defense trade control procedures in an effort to facilitate defense trade for the benefit of our allies' defense forces and U.S. industry. This is a new process, full of many unknowns for both the government and industry. Many of you here know that there has not yet been a lot of licensing activity under the DTSI. There are probably many reasons for this. The new programs require industry to anticipate the shape of significant multi-year programs, and this involves advance planning that may not be easy. The Bureau of Political Military Affairs is examining the DTSI experience to date, and wants to facilitate the licensing of major programs, long-term supply relationships and key alliance programs. PM needs to work together to ease the burdens on both sides as PM tries to make DTSI a very positive tool.

It is true that Congress, industry and our allies have expressed concerns with the U.S. licensing process in the past. Under this administration, we are making it our concern as well. The Bureau of Political Military Affairs has already begun a review of the licensing process. PM wants the Office of Defense Trade Controls to have the resources it needs to run a 21st century operation.

The Bureau of Political Military Affairs also has responsibility for authorizing all government-to-government arms transfers worldwide through the FMS program. Foreign military sales transfers total \$12.2 billion per year. It is clear that the close cooperation between PM and DSCA on FMS is essential, and we are excited about DoD's innovations to the FMS program. Further, the Department of State is working to be part of DSCA's electronic process to handle FMS cases not requiring congressional notification. Previously, DSCA sent faxes to the Department of State for determination of cases, and the process took 24-48 hours. Now a spreadsheet is delivered electronically from DSCA to the Department of State, which allows same-day turnaround time. In the last two years, the Bureau of Political Military Affairs has improved U.S. arms transfer processing times by 50 percent, PM wants to keep modernizing along with our friends at DoD.

The arms sales approval function necessitates close cooperation with DoD to determine the appropriateness of the potential transfer, the reliability of the recipient, and the availability of the defense items and services from non-U.S. sources. A transfer decision takes into account whether proposed transfers serve the national interest of the U.S. from a global, regional and individual country perspective.

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The U.S. conventional arms transfers policy serves the goal of helping allies and friends deter or defend themselves against aggression, while promoting interoperability with U.S. forces for those times when combined operations are in order. The policy also aims to promote regional stability while inhibiting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems. We take all of these criteria seriously.

The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs is also responsible for managing the Department of State efforts to curb the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. We led the U.S. effort at the *U.N. Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*, which resulted in a consensus agreement on a Program of Action with 140 nations this past July, at 6:30 one fine Saturday morning, after marathon negotiations.

Our bureau manages a \$2 million annual program to destroy surplus weapons that may be poorly secured overseas (100,000 in Albania so far this year, 80,000 in Bulgaria). We are working on agreements to destroy small arms ammunitions in Bulgaria and weapons in Yugoslavia. This relatively new program is important to our conflict prevention efforts.

The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs Humanitarian Demining program seeks to promote stability and lay the basis for economic recovery in areas affected by war. With a \$40 million annual budget, PM oversees demining programs in over three dozen countries, up from just 13 in 1997. The DoS and DoD work together in the interagency effort to support the U.S. government mine action programs around the world. My hope is that through aggressive efforts of many entities worldwide, we can begin to bound the entire problem and address it systematically with other governments and non-government organizations in the not-too-distant future.

As of this week, PM is to be the lead State Department organization in working with the Department of Defense to shape a policy approach to the land mine issue that balances essential military requirements with very grave humanitarian concerns. PM also has the lead policy role in contingency planning and peacekeeping. We are responsible for developing and coordinating complex contingency plans for areas of potential crisis as directed by the National Security Council.

I think you are aware that PM also manage the Enhance International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EIPC) program, a \$5-12 million per year grant aid program designed to assist countries in building up their peacekeeping capabilities. DSCA's collaboration with PM in the administration of this program is invaluable. This is a small but cost-effective use of FMF funds through which PM can promote interoperability in peacekeeping operations and increase the pool of countries able to undertake these operations all over the world. The Bureau of Political-Military Affairs is managing the department's critical infrastructure protection outreach effort, working with other governments to deal with cyber terrorism and other threats to the world's increasingly interdependent information infrastructure, along with telecom, energy and other critical infrastructures.

Our office of International Security Operations (ISO) tracks and facilitates U.S. military operations to ensure that U.S. foreign policy objectives are met. It is a real advantage for me to have military and civilian experts available to advise the Secretary of State on issues such as operations in Iraq (no-fly zones), Department of State and Department of Defense force protection, U.S. and the United Kingdom basing issues, missile defense, space policy, and weapons of mass destruction consequence management. I could go on with more specialized functional areas, including international security operations, confidence and security building measures, base access, burden sharing negotiations, eleven this year, and no fewer than twenty security bilaterals worldwide. I think you can see that the Bureau of Political Military Affairs' mission contributes to overall U.S. foreign policy goals in all kinds of ways. Guided by the

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leadership of President Bush and Secretary Powell, PM is poised to fulfill its new missions - building influence, reinforcing security architectures, addressing sources of instability and crisis worldwide. It is a big challenge, but when our national interests are on the line as they are today, we have no hesitation in taking on the task.